

THE
S P I R I T
OF
The Church - Faction
DETECTED,
In its Nature and Operations,

More Particularly in
The History of the Corporation-Book,
Lately Published and Exposed.

To the View and Censure of the World,
by the late Arch-Bishop of Canterbury;
And in

The Progress of the Faction,
And the Mischiefs thereof,
The late Civil War, and our present Disappointments.

Edward Stephens

LONDON

Printed in the Year, MDC XCI

Lately publish'd by the same Author.

AN *Admonition concerning a Publick FAST; The Just Causes we have for it, from the full Growth of Sin, and the near Approaches of God's Judgments; And the Manner of Performance, to obtain the desired Effects thereof; Which ought to be other than our Common Forms; and with stricter Acts of Mortification than is usual amongst us.*

AN APPEAL to Heaven and Earth, against the Christian Epicureans, who have betrayed their KING and Countrey, and Exposed them to the Judgments of GOD; Drawn up in Questions Theological, and Theologico-Political.

A CAVEAT to the READER.

IT is certain that Mankind is commonly very prone to that Folly of running out of one Extream into another: And it is as certain and apparent that the Christians all over the World being divided into several different Parties, are generally (where they have any Zeal at all) more zealous for their own particular Parties, and for those things which are peculiar to them, than for Christianity it self, or the Great matters of it, in which all agree: and that accordingly they are generally more led and swayed by the Comments and Doctrines of their Teachers and leading men of their respective Parties, and the Opinions they have of them, than by the plain Text of the S. Scripture, and the Authority thereof, though they do not apprehend so much themselves. All this might be proved by many Evidences of Fact: but that would be too long for this place; and besides it is needless: For all acknowledge it to be so in all parties but their own; which is sufficient Evidence, as good as need be, against all; for their own Confession against themselves is not to be expected. And all acknowledge it to be a Fault, wherever it is.

This I note for Caution, and to prevent that ill Use which might be made of what I have here written for a good End; (viz. that the Church of England might be moved to Reform of her self what is amiss, to cast out all Abuses, and extirpate all those pestiferous Weeds and Roots of Faction,) and in case that God for her Negligence should a second time leave her to the Correction of any other Party, that they may not again overshoot themselves, and by inconsiderate heat, instead of Reformation put all into Confusion; or by Severity against their fellow Servants, provoke the Judgments of their common Lord against themselves. For all have their Faults, and very considerable ones too: and most have some Good almost peculiar to themselves, which the rest either overlook or neglect, if not oppose, or obstinately refuse. Even that very party which hath most Weeds of all, may, and if I be not deceived, often doth produce such Fruit amongst those Weeds, as can hardly be matcht by any of the other; which must therefore have the more to answer for, that under a better Culture they do not bring forth better, and more mature and excellent Fruit. Had we been as carefull to retain and improve what was good, and to restore and repair what was lost or decayed, as we were to cast out all that was bad,

A Caveat to the Reader.

our Work had been more compleat, and successfull. But while Heat of Contention makes all Parties apt to take the matters in Controversie for the great Matters of Religion, what are really the Great Matters of Religion, are the less regarded by any, and what are taken to be so, but are not, are prosecuted and pressed further than they ought to be, by each respectively when they get the Advantage for it.

Such were the Superstitions and superfluous Rites, whereby the genuine Simple and most Proper and Decent Christian Worship of God, was in the Church of Rome corrupted and obscured, like good Wheat in a Great beap of Tares and Chaff, that many to avoid them have run into a contrary Superstition, avoiding and neglecting even natural expressions of Reverence and Decency in it, and little less than Prophaneness. This justly moved some of our Bishops, and Dr. Laud especially, when he came into favour, to labour, as he saith, That the External Worship of God (so much slighted in many parts) might be preserved, and that with as much Decency and Uniformity as might be. But it was pressed too far, in unnecessary matters, in a kind of arbitrary manner, without an equal concern for the promotion of real and internal Piety; nay, with obstinate refusal and opposition of Reformation of other great Abuses, in Discipline, Non-Residence, Pluralities, &c. and with Opposition even of some Means of the promotion of Religion, the Observation of the Lords Day, Lectures, and the purchase of Improvements, as if it was the only thing necessary, or it and absolute Subjection to the Will of the Prince under the Notion of Loyalty, was the summe of all Religion. And this again on the other side, made it be looked upon as meer Formality, and a Project to prepare us for the readmission of Popery, and so raised a greater Antipathy against it; which at last cast all out, but in its place brought in Indecency, Prophaneness and Confusion. But we have now a Choice of such Bishops, as I hope will make a better use of what I have written, and do their parts to make this Caution needless.

For the Readers better satisfaction concerning the near agreement of the Nature and Genius of our Church-Faction with that of the Church of Rome, I recommend to his perusal and Consideration Dr. Barrow's Account of the Inconveniences of the Papal Pretences, pag. 201. to pag. 214. Of the Popes Supremacy.

THE
S P I R I T
OF THE
Church-Faction
DETECTED, &c.

I Have formerly taken notice of a certain Difference between the *Church-Faction*, and the True *Church of England*: and the ingenious Dr. ~~Hildon~~ hath lately acquainted the Honourable *House of Commons*, and the World since in a Sermon now in Print, with a notable and very true distinction between *the Spirit of God*, and *the Spirit of the Church of England*; which must be understood of *the Church-Faction*, which arrogates to it self the Name of *the Church of England*, as its Mother the Church of Rome doth the Name of the *Catholick Church*, and with as good Right and Reason every whit. Of *this Faction* I say it must be understood; for the True *Church of England* owns no Spirit for its Guide but *that of God*. And since he hath furnished us with so usefull and remarkable a Distinction, to whom can we more properly have recourse to understand the Nature of this Spirit, than to him who professeth himself possessed of it? and besides, is very free and apt upon all occasions to afford Experiments and plain Demonstrations of its natural Vertues and Faculties? And one he hath lately given

in the Case of Mr. *David Jones*, and that so notable an one, as may fully satisfie all men who consider it well, which I will therefore briefly relate.

Mr. *Jones* had twice preached here in *London*, for a Minister who was absent; and at the second time, (being to make some stay in Town,) he was desired by some persons of other Parishes, who had either heard him or heard of him, to preach at their Churches, and particularly at St. *Andrews* and *Christ-church*, both the same day, 2 Nov. Thereupon, considering the quality of those Auditories, he made choice of a Sermon which he had formerly made at *Oxford*, upon 1 *Tim.* 6. 17. *Charge them that are rich in this world, that they be not high-minded:* And discoursing upon the parts of his Text in order, as is usual, before he came to discourse of the Rich, which he principally intended, from the first word he touched upon the *Ministerial Charge*, and the Neglect thereof by many *Pluralists*, *Chaplains* and other *Non-Residents*, and others deserting their former Charges for temporal Advantage. And this passed well enough in the Morning at S. *Andrewes*, where there were none present who were much concerned in it: But in the Afternoon at *Christ-Church*, Dr. ~~Habington~~ being there, who hath a Cure in the Countrey, two Lectures in the City, is the Kings Chaplain, and a Noble-mans Chaplain besides; all this seem'd designed directly against him, especially being preached by one of his own Colledge. And thereupon, as Mr. *Jones* was going from the Pulpit to the Vestry, the Dr. came to him, and after some hard words took him by the shoulder, and bid him be gone out of the Church; adding, That he would take care he should come no more there to tell them of their Faults.

This strange carriage of the Dr. occasioned much Discourse; and that, and the Effervescence of his own Passion, made him not only break out into foul and false Aspersions of
of

[3]

of Mr. Jones, in all Companies the Week following, but into indecent Reflections upon him even from the Pulpit, the next Lords day. This moved a Friend of Mr. Jones, who was then at Church, to go to the Dr. asteward into the Vestry, to expostulate the matter calmly with him. But the Dr. could not contain himself, but presently fell into passion; and threatned, he would desire those Gentlemen (who stood there by) to serve him, as he had served Mr. Jones the Sunday before: To which the other replied, If he were of that temper, he should not need to trouble himself, for he had no more to say to him; and so left him; but the next day wrote him the following Letter.

Reverend Dr.

I Am very sorry that such a Difference should fall out, between two Persons so qualified to do good service in the Church, as may prove some Impediment to both: It becomes men of your Profession to be mutual Assistants to one another in the promotion of the Work and Service of your common Master. And therefore that the Evil of the Difference may be prevented and stopped, and if possible turned to good, I beg your patience to peruse and seriously consider these few things, which I shall as briefly as I can, and with all candor and impartiality offer to your consideration. I am of opinion that (as it usually falls out in most differences, so in this,) there may be some fault on both sides.

Mr. Jones I take to be in the right in the Substance of what he delivered, but may have erred a little in Circumstance, in the Season of his delivering it. But yet in Charity that ought to be imputed to the height of his Zeal for the Reformation of things notoriously amiss, and of great Importance to be reformed. And as his unblamable and strict Life obligeth us to make this construction of it; so the great and notorious Remissness of the Governours of our Church, makes his Reproof, whe-

ther in season or out of season, excusable at least, if not commendable : And if you or any other of the Clergy offer to give him any Disturbance for it, I dare assure you, you will but so much the more expose your selves and a foul Cause. It will be more agreeable to Christianity, and the places you hold in the Church, to humble your selves before God, and set speedily about such a Reformation as may make such Preaching needless. And for Mr. Jones, I hope I shall be able to prevail with him to consider better of the Season for those things, but not to remit any thing of his warmth against them in due season, untill I see more Zeal for the Reformation of them in others.

But your Fault (pardon my plain dealing, which proceeds not from ill will, but to do you good,) is in the Substance of what is amiss. You have undertaken (as I am informed) the greatest Charge in the World, the Cure of Souls, and neglect it ; leave it to a Hireling, who if he be as good a man as your self, deserves as much, that is all the Profits ; if he be not, you do not discharge your Duty there. And you not only neglect so great a Charge, but neglect it for the World, for the Profit of a Lecture, nay two Lectures ; and in a place where there is no need of your Help, where there are Labourers who want Work, and some who want Subsistence besides : So that the sin of your Neglect is aggravated with great Scandal, tempting People both to Worldly-mindedness, and to suspect that you, an eminent Dr. either believe not the Doctrine you profess, and so also to Atheism ; or that you believe not the strict Observation thereof to be necessary, and so at least to Licentiousness : and aggravated not only with Scandal, but with Uncharitableness too, and that even to men of your own Kind, through such Unsatiableness, or ^{*}Canine Appetite, which not only preys upon the Flock, but devours the very Shepherds. Nor is this all yet ; for you plainly encourage and lead into sin the People you preach to. If to covet another mans Servant be a Sin, contrary to the express Command of God, then certainly to inveigle another mans Servant from him is a greater Sin : And if this be so, what is it then to inveigle the Minister of a whole Parish from the service

[5]

service of their Souls? And no less a sin than this are all they guilty of who contribute to either of your Lectures. The due consideration of this, and what it is to be partakers in other mens sins, as they are in all yours before mentioned, is fit to be recommended to your Auditors. And a due sense of these things, (had you bin in nothing else concerned in that discourse) would have allayed and checked the intemperance of your Passion against a just Reproof, which I am certain was not designed by any man for your person more than for any other, but ordered it seems by the Providence of God to fall upon you, for your Correction, and your Good, if it be not your own fault

But to all this, instead of that Christian use you ought to have made of it, you added another fault, by your passionate and indecent Tréatment of him for it, in such a manner as had not bin excusable had you bin Rector, but was much less so in you, who have only so precarious an Interest in that Church, as only Lecturer, and such as you cannot retain without sin both in your self, and in those who contribute to it.

And yet to this you have since added a third in your Sermon yesterday, [on Act. 26. 29. concerning Reproof, that it ought to be mild and gentle.] For, 1. It was an Abuse of Religion and of the Doctrine of the Gospel, to make use of it to gratifie your Passion in Indecent Reflections. 2. It was imprudently done in your Case, in as much as those Reflections do all rebound and more notoriously fall upon pour self, who had justly and inexcusably deserved the worst you could say to that purpose. 3. You did not handle that Doctrine faithfully: for tho such as are overtaken in a fault are to be restored in a spirit of meekness, yet such as sin deliberately are to be sharply reproved: And this being your own case, and whereof you were admonished, you did not at all touch upon it; but handled the Word of God deceitfully, like those false Propbets who prophesied smooth things. (Isa. 30. 10.) Your passionate Carriage afterward in the Vestry, to my self, who was willing to have discoursed these things calmly with you, I pass by: but expect your Answer to this, and shall be ready, without any further regard to what is past, to treat with you as your

future

[6]
*future and better Carriage shall deserve, and hoping the best
shall remain*

Your Humble Servant.

10 Nov. 1690.

E. S.

Had the Dr. upon perusal of this Letter well considered how unhappily he had fallen into a Quarrel, which in Prudence he ought to have avoided at first, and however to let fall as soon and as silently as might be, 'tis likely it might have passed over with a little talk only for a few dayes. But as for the Letter, he told the Messenger who carried it, and desired his Answer, that he had nothing to do with Mr. S. (who wrote it) and he would send him no Answer : And for Mr. Jones nothing less than to have him Suspended or Silenced could satisfie that Spirit he is of, whatsoever it is. And it was not long before such another Occasion raised him up some Companions in the same Cause against Mr. Jones. For notwithstanding this Treatment by that Doctor, he made bold in another Sermon the next Lords Day, or the next but one, to touch two other Faults of many of our Clergy, viz. *Neglect of Catechising*, and *Admission of scandalous Persons to the Sacrament* : And these two Sermons (though it was undeniable Truth in them, at which they took such Offence) presently raised such a Spirit in many of the Clergy about the City, that no less than forty or fifty, as is reported, at one Meeting, agreed together that none of them should permit *David Jones* to Preach in his Pulpit ; and accordingly a Pulpit which was Promised by one of them for a Stranger the next Lords day was denied as soon as it was known that *David Jones* was the Man. And afterwards at another Meeting, or some way or other amongst them, they so prevailed with the Bishop, that he would neither permit him to Preach without a License, though that is seldom or never required of Strangers in *London* ; nor let him

him have a License, though he was willing to take one, and pay the Fees, having an absolute Promise to be Chosen to a Place in *London* if he might have a License. So that after ten Years hard Study in the University, and a sober and strict Life, he is by the Spirit of this Party kept from the Service of God in the Exercise of his Ministry, to which he is Ordained according to the Church of *England*, and from a Livelihood in his Calling, for no other Fault but Preaching against the Faults of others, whilst those who are guilty thereof are not only connived at, but favoured even in their unreasonable, and not more imprudent than impudent Prosecution of one, who did but reprove them. And this Dr. being not only guilty of those Faults, but moreover a principal Agent in this Prosecution, notwithstanding the private Admonition of that Letter, since that had no better effect upon him, it was thought fit to make it publick ; and the rather because by some Expressions of the Bishops, the Letter seems to have been either misrepresented to him, or mistaken by him.

And thus much for *David Jones* his Case, which, though very hard, yet being only a private Case, I should not have thought fit to have made thus publick, did it not present us with a considerable Instance of the Nature of that wicked Spirit, which hath brought both the Church and the State of this Nation into a most dangerous Condition, and very near to a most dismal Catastrophe ; and with a fair Occasion to detect its Nature and Operations before it accomplish the same in the Confusion and final Destruction of both.

And *First* it is very plain that this is none of the Spirit of God or of Christ, for that is pure, peaceable, gentle, and Jam. 3
 easie to be entreated, full of Mercy and good Fruits ; and these Fruits (to judge according to our Saviour's Rule) are Mat. 7
 Love, Joy, Peace, Long suffering, Gentleness, Goodness, Faith, Meekness, Temperance, and the like ; but this Spirit Gal. 5
 is

is quite the contrary, passionate, furious, irreconcilable implacable; and its Works are, Emulation, Envy, Strife, Anger, Malice, Hatred, Rage, Revenge, and the like. So that in those Words of the Dr. to the House of Commons, *[Though I must not say with St. Paul, that I think I have the Spirit of God; yet I dare say that I have the Spirit of that Church in which I was born and bred; and I dare say no more:]* there may be more truth than he was aware of, or did intend. And if the Apostles in their Zeal for Christ himself knew not what Spirit they were of, it is no wonder if this Faction be of another Spirit than that which is of God, though they may not know it.

Secondly, As it is plain that this Spirit of the Faction is not the Spirit which is of God, so it is as plain that it is the Spirit of the World, by the great Fervour and Affection it hath and produceth to the things of the World, and the little concern it hath for the things of God: Great Zeal and Jealousie for the External Pomp and Grandeur of the Church, and the Honour and Dignity of the Clergy; but little concern for the Internal Beauty and Splendor of the Church, or for the Honour of God or the Christian Religion: As our Saviour saith, *No Man can serve two Masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other: Ye cannot serve God and Mammon:* So it is plain, that the reason why they have so little concern for the Honour and Service of God, is because they are so full of the Spirit of the World: There is their Treasure, and there are their Hearts also. This is apparent in many and frequent Instances of divers Natures; deserting of former, and many times great Charges, for a little advantage of Profit; Deserting of such Charges as an industrious Man might well enough discharge, and for Advantage in the Profits not only accepting but contending for such Places as are greater than they can possibly discharge. And for *Pluralities* and *Non-residence* I refer the Reader to Mr. Jones's Sermon, and to the *Groans of the Church*, in a Book entituled *Ichabod*, Printed for John Harris at the Harrow in the Poultry.

And

And *Thirdly*, It is as plain, that there is more in it than meerly the fordid Spirit of the World, the Spirit of Covetousness, though that be said to be Idolatry, (as is every excursion of the Affections to any thing more than to God;) and the amity of the World to be enmity to God, there is also a proud, haughty, arrogant, domineering Spirit of Opposition, of whatever stands in its way, of Reformation, of any thing, tho' never so necessary; of the very spirit and life of Religion, and of Christ himself in his Saints: In plain terms, the Spirit of Antichrist, the very same with that of *Rome*, only a little restrained by the Reformation from some particular Projects of Opposition, which yet it supplies by others as effectual. But in divers Instances it appears to be the very same: As,

1. In *violent Opposition of any Reformation*, though never so reasonable, or necessary, and upon the very same Principles, *viz.* least it should weaken their Authority, or abridge some Temporal Advantage. And hence it is that not any of those things, which the first Reformers settled as well as they could for the present, but noted to be defective, and desired might be more compleatly reformed in due time, hath to this day bin promoted toward a more compleat Reformation; but whoever appear'd much concerned for it, were opposed, reproached and persecuted. As this appeared early, even in Queen *Elizabeth's* time; when those who desired a Reformation in respect of Discipline, were at first reproached with the Name of *Disciplinarians*, and afterwards persecuted unto Death, not without some straining of the Law against them, but not any thing done in so necessary a Case. The very same Spirit it is, which in the case of *Pluralities, and Non-Residence*, that storms and bandies against *David Jones*, for but touching upon it in *transitu*. And the same Wicked Spirit it is, which keeps our Divisions, not only by Obstinacy against all Christian Condescension in things indifferent, least they should remit any thing of their Authority; but by obtruding new occasions of Of-

C

fence

fence and Difference, to keep out as many as they can from Conformity, that so they may ingross all Preferments the more intirely to themselves.

2. In *more strictly requiring Obedience and Conformity to their own Laws, than to the Laws and Commands of God*; nay, at the same time permitting the greatest Violations and Contempt of the Gospel by their own Members without the least resentment, and conniving at notorious Immoralities, I might say indulging them, in such as are but zealous for the Church, as they call the Faction; for such are frequently excused, treated and commended by them as honest Loyal Churchmen, though they seldom appear at the Church, or perform any serious act of Religion. And what is this but setting up themselves above the Worship of God?

3. In *flattering and cajoling of Princes*: or in the Scripture phrase, in *Fornication with the Kings of the Earth*. There is only this *Difference between the Great Whore and this Faction*, that the former, like a great Person, a stately Dame, was solicited and courted by the Kings of the Earth, and imperiously commanded them, though she prostituted her self to their embraces: But this, like a little Whore, or Common Prostitute, solicited them, and mercenarily prostituted her self to their Pleasure for Silk Stockings, Ribbons, and such Finery, for Preferments. But in three most material things they agree exactly. 1. In asserting the Pretences of their Gallants. 2. In raising themselves in Temporal Advantages by them. 3. In incensing them to espouse their Quarrels, and by Temporal Laws, and Civil and Military Power to subdue or suppress their Adversaries. But this must be explained, and the Mystery be made manifest.

The *Sacred Office* of Ministers of Jesus Christ, I think truly the most Honourable Employment that a mortal Man is capable of; and therefore should think nothing too much for them, which might render the Persons employed in such an Office the more honourable in the sight of all Men. But when I consider, what only is truly *Honourable* in the sight of

of God, of the Blessed Angels, and of all wise men ; and what is so only in the Opinion of the Ignorant People of the World ; that these latter without the former are apt rather to move Indignation and Contempt, than any truly honourable Esteem in the Minds of Men ; and that Common Experience sheweth, that such is the corruption of Humane Nature, that they not only usually prove Lures to corrupt minds, to attract such as to the Prey, but for the most part corrupt or debase even the better sort of those who do but accept them ; it puts me in mind of that notable Observation of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, concerning the Bishops of the City of *Rome*, and the Countrey Bishops ; That the former indeed lived in great Splendor, rode in their Coaches, were curiously cloathed, and fared sumptuously ; but might be truly happy, if despising the Grandure of the City they lived like the latter, whom their modest Attire, their spare Dyet, and their humble Behaviour, recommended both to the Eternal Deity, and to the sincere Worshipers of him. It makes me think also of the words of that Great and Good Man, Sir *Matthew Hale*, who, when I told him the News of the Preferment of one of the Clergy, whom I knew he had a respect for, replied very seriously and gravely : *I did never rejoyce in the Preferment of any of my Friends of the Clergy ; for though it be a good sign of good times when Good Men are preferred ; yet I do not think it good for them : For I never knew any man made better by Preferments, but many worse.* And it makes me conclude with much Assurance of Truth, that those things wherewith *Constantine* heretofore, and our Ancestors in this Nation afterward, expressed much Affection and Respect to the Church, and piously designed to adorn and exalt it in Esteem, Honour and Power, have proved in truth no better than the unadvised Indulgences of fond Parents usually prove to their Children ; please their childish Affections for the present, but insensibly deprave both Body and Mind, and deprive them of many real and great Advantages, which a prudent Discipline, and well regulated Education would

have furnished them with. Certain it is, that the admired things of the World do not satisfy, but Dropsie-like increase the Thirst, and so intangle Mens Minds more and more in worldly Affections, which the design of Christianity is to divest us of. The genuine *Christianity* is the most Divine and only compleat Philosophy, that ever appeared among Men. And a *true Church of Christ* is a Society of Men selected out of the World, not corporally, but in their Souls and Affections, and certain Institutions and Manners; and particularly amongst others, by Renunciation of the Poms and Vanities of it. Such a Church debauch'd by the Spirit of the World, becomes a *Whore* in a spiritual sense, according to the phrase of the S. Scriptures. And when the lust of those things is excited by this Spirit of the World, to the Rage of Persecution of the Members of Christ, it becomes then a compleat *Antichrist*.

Thus the Great and Famous *Church of Rome*, the Mistress of all the Western Churches, being debauch'd, became the *Great Whore*; and the rest were only as Servants to her, or Members of her. And such was *the Church of England*, till she deserted her Service at the Reformation, and set up for her self. Then indeed she began to reform many of the Corruptions of her Mistress; but her *State and Grandeur* she thought she might retain without Detriment or Danger to her Integrity, little suspecting that this was the Root and principal Occasion of all the Corruptions of that once famous and truly honourable Church; and the more easily overlooking the Corruptions of which, much of that State and Grandure doth consist, though it be very plain and obvious if duly considered: For it is plain, beyond all contradiction, that *our Episcopacy*, as it stands modelled to this day, however we magnifie our Church upon it, even to the unchurching of almost all others, is no genuine Institution, but a Mungrel Constitution of Antichristian Original; and of very pernicious Consequence both to Church and State. It is a truth, which at least after divers more gentle Admonitions

[3]

ditions I must speak out : for I see no hopes of any good from it, unless the Corruptions thereof be reformed. A principal part of what is reputed peculiar to the Episcopal Office, is taken from our *Bishops*, and committed to Laymen, *viz.* The Administration of *Discipline*. This as a piece of State, in imitation of the Grandees of the World, was heretofore committed to the Chancellors, as a matter below their Dignity to execute themselves ; so that to this day they remain deprived in effect of a considerable part of their Office : of which Bishop *Beadle* had so just a resentment, that he endeavoured the restitution thereof. And as their Office in part is taken from them, so they on the other side are not a little taken from their Office, by *Secular Business* in Parliament, besides other Secular Business in the Countrey. Which to me seems a greater piece of *Sacrilege* than the alienation of part of their Revenues, and application of it to secular uses. Being thus in part deprived of their Office, and in part abstracted from it, it is but agreeable to the rest, that they are partly also deprived of *their Churches*. Where they have Seats indeed left them, but the *Cathedrals* in all or most places, if I mistake not, are not in the Power of the Bishop, but of the *Dean and Chapter*, consisting of a number of Prebends, who are obliged to be resident some certain, but no long time, as three weeks or a month in the Year ; and having Cures remote, and commonly out of the Diocese, are of little Use or Benefit to the Church or City, if at all to any part of the Diocese. Thus is the ancient venerable Body or Society of the Bishop and his Presbytery with us divided and distracted, and rendred in a great measure useless and insignificant to the Ends of its Original Institution ; and the Damage thereof to the Church not only covered and concealed, but augmented also, by the Addition of secular Titles and Employments, through the subtilty of that Wicked Spirit. A plain Mungrel Constitution, instead of the ancient simple Christian Form.

That these things are not of *Christian Institution*, is plain
from

from the Sacred Scriptures, and the Writings of the Christians of all former Ages before they were introduced. • And that they are of *Antichristian Original*, is as plain from the Writings of those Ages when they were introduced; but both may be made manifest to all Men by a much shorter and easier way: And that is, by considering the different Ends and Designs of the Spirit of Christ, and of the Spirit of Antichrist, and the Tendency and Subserviency of these things to the End and Designs of the one or the other.

The *End and Design of Christ, and of his Spirit*, which doth animate and guide all true Christians, is to withdraw Men from the World, to train and exercise them to an entire Subjection of the whole Man to God, and to exalt and unite them, who are dependant Beings, to him, who is their only Center of Repose and Happiness. On the contrary, the *Aim and Design of the Wicked One*, the Spirit of Antichrist, called also the *God of this World*, is to withhold and withdraw the Minds of Men from God; and in order thereunto to intangle their Affections with the false appearances of the things of this World, and distract their thoughts with multiplicity of Superfluities and Impertinences thereof; that being unhinged from their proper Centre, they may center upon some false bottom, and set up themselves for little Deities, *Gerentes se pro Centro mundi*; which being the very state of the Devils, doth necessarily involve them in their Condition, and engage them to their Party, amongst whom they must unavoidably be subject to such as are more powerful than themselves.

Accordingly *our Saviour*, when he was pleased to converse with Men in the habit of a mortal man, was pleased to appear in a mean *Condition*, without House or Lands, without other *Attendants* than his Disciples, and those chosen out of the meanest sort of people: His *Speeches and Discourses* weighty and comprehensive, but plain, and without any affectation either of Oratory or exactness of Method: his *Institutions* for Initiation and Confederation of his Disciples, and

and Worship of God, few and simple, with little Ceremony, though very significant : His *Doctrines* few and plain, that he was the Son of God, the *Messias*, or *Christ*, anointed by his Spirit to be a Prince and a Saviour to all Nations ; and that of his Fulness of the Divine Spirit, we all who believe in him and obey him, should receive, and so be partakers of the Divine Nature : His *Precepts* likewise few, but very extensive, and easily intelligible ; to love God with all our Powers and Faculties ; and our Neighbour, who is equally related to God, as our selves ; and to keep our selves pure and unspotted of the World. And accordingly his *Apostles and Disciples*, those who had not the things of the World, sought them not, but were contented with Food and Rayment ; and that they often sought by their own labours, and those who had more, distributed what they had to such as wanted. On the contrary, *Antichrist* is described in the Scripture, 1. With great Pomp, State, Grandure, Power and Dominion. 2. With much Subtilty, and strong Delusions. 3. With great Violence and Cruelty, being drunk with the Blood of the Saints. And if we well consider the *Methods* which have been used for the suppression of the Christian Religion, through the instigation of that Wicked Spirit, which rules in the Hearts of all wicked Men, and too often prevails in such as are not of his party, if not well purified from carnal and terrene Affections, and very vigilant and circumspect, we shall find that the first was indeed by open *Violence*, by the Jews and the Heathens : But as soon as that appeared not to be sufficient for his purpose, he made use of his *Subtilty*, and transforming himself into an Angel of Light, set to work by his Instruments to corrupt the simplicity of the Christian Doctrine with subtle Notions, and under pretence of Zeal for the true Faith to raise Dissentions, and divide the Christians into different parties, and set them one against another. And by this Means he prevailed mightily among the *Greeks*, who were addicted to Speculation and Oratory : But when
his

his first Method of Force wholly failed him, and the Roman Emperours became Christians, neither had his second Method that effect among the *Romans* as it had with the *Greeks*, they being more addicted to *Pomp, and Grandure, and Dominion*, than to Notions and Speculations; he presently attach'd them with those things which were more agreeable to their Disposition, and instigated them to express their Zeal for the Church, by conferring as much of this kind upon it as might be, and their Bishops as greedily to catch at it. This is that which *St. Augustine* and the Bishops of that famous Council in *Africa* noted, and gravely and sharply reproved in the then Bishops of *Rome*, that they introduced *Typhum Seculi in Ecclesiam*, the Pomp and Grandure of the World into the Church: And when they were once tainted and leavened with this Poyson of the Spirit of the World, they were easily instigated to the use of Force and Violence against any who never so justly opposed their Ambition, (as that Council did) till at last they proceeded to Blood and all kind of Cruelty in after Ages.

And now for the *Tendence and Subservience of these things of the World*, so much neglected by Christ and his true Disciples, and so greedily sought after by others, to which of the Ends before mentioned it is most, and the Effects and Consequences of them upon Men: 1. It is plain that they do for the most part strangely insinuate themselves into the Affections of those that acquire them; insomuch that what is commonly said of one of them, *Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit*, may truly be said of all; much would have more, and the more men have, the more they still crave; and so easily observable every where, that I need say no more. 2. These Affections to the things of the World are apt continually to occupy and take up the Mind, and to avert it or detain it from God, its proper Object; partly by Complacency in them, and partly by Distractions about them. 3. And this doth easily proceed to a kind of Trust and Confidence in them, and Reliance upon them, with
Acqui-

Acquiescence and Repose; whereby they become such a false bottom to it as I mentioned before, an Idol instead of the Living God. 4. And this must needs partly chill, if not extinguish all true Devotion and Affection to God, and cause a Narrowness of Soul, as to any generous Acts for his Service, or the common Good of Men; and partly infatuate it with False Security and Presumption of the Favour of God, grounded upon such External Blessings, and a formal outside Religion according to its own Disposition. 5. And then lastly, All is soon compleated with that height of Pride, Arrogance, and Indignation and Severity against all who oppose, or refuse to stoop and pay Reverence to so Worshipful a Being. All which is directly contrary to the intire Subjection of the Creature to the Creator, which is the very End of our living here upon Earth, and of the Conduct of the Divine Spirit, and insensibly leads into the State, and subjects it to the Power of the Devils.

And for the *Effect and Consequence thereof upon others*, the *Ostentation* of those who have some share of these things, is apt to provoke the *Emulation* of those who have less: and that instigates them first to Care and Pains to get as much as their Neighbours, though otherwise they may perhaps have enough for themselves and their Families, if they would but conform to it; and so robs them of much precious Time, and distracts their Minds from their proper Object, by unnecessary Care for Superfluities; and so also gives advantage to the Spirit of the World to insinuate the deeper into them: And Secondly, if honest Pains and honest Gains will not satisfie the Emulation, it instigates further to indirect Means, as Frauds, Cheats, Exactions, Oppressions, secret Stealth and open Robbery, wherewith particular Persons are wronged and molested, and many undone; many Arts, Projects and Practices of Covetous and Ambitious Officers, Courtiers, Statesmen, and Princes, whereby States and Governments and whole Nations are disturbed, and often involved in great Troubles; and most of that various Wickedness

D

which

which we daily see punished with the untimely Death of so many Malefactors. But besides those grosser Evils, which are apparent to every ordinary Observation, there is *another more subtle Evil Consequence*, which falls heavy upon a great part of Mankind, and so makes the *Curse* much *worse* than ever God made it. It keeps down many Young and many honest industrious People, that with all their Care, Labour and Industry, they are hardly able to get an honest Livelihood and Subsistence for their Families, and makes Necessity a great Temptation to many. These are great Evils under the Sun, such as do greatly strengthen and increase the Kingdom of Darkness, and such as the Christians of the Reformed Churches (as we call them) have much to answer for before God. But it would require a longer Discourse than is fit for this place fully to explain them. I shall therefore only add, that the Great Instruments of this Mystery of Wickedness, are the Great Men of the World, the State-ly Dames, and all that either prosecute the things of the World with Greediness, and without measure, retain them without use, or use them with Ostentation, in Attire, in immodest Fashions, (such as our Womens *Fioccoes*, fitter for Fore-horses heads than for the Foreheads of Christian Women,) in great Tables, Curious Furniture, Attendants, and Prodigality at Inns and Taverns, to Servants, upon their Pleasures, and other matters, forgetting the Account they must one day make for these Talents. But no greater Instruments do I know in this Mystery than such *Clergymen*, as forgetting the Design and Precepts of the Gospel, and the Example of our Saviour and the ancient Christians, by a contrary Example in seeking Preferments, in making Provision for the flesh, and Ostentation of the things of the World in themselves, their Wives and Children, and by too close following, and thereby authorizing and encouraging the Fashions, and Modes and Finery and State of the World, render themselves the Devils Journeymen to expose and recommend his Wares, and his Servants to spread his Snares, who should as the Ministers

nisters and Servants of Jesus Christ by their Example recommend the noble Simplicity of our Christian Profession, as well as by their Doctrine inculcate the Exactness of a true Christian Conversation, and the Strictness of the Account we must all one day give of what we have done in the Flesh. And yet some there are, who, as if their Compliance and Encouragement to these things by their Example were not enough, scruple not to be Advocates for them, even in their Pulpits, and in Printed Books, and teach People by Pharisaical Glosses to elude the plainest and most express Texts of Scripture, and instead of Religious care to conform their Manners to them, to study and invent such Comments for them as may least thwart their corrupt manners; little considering that the Precepts of the Gospel were designed for Mankind with respect to a Common Good, and that many things, which considered in themselves, or as the acts of a particular Person, may seem little, yet considered with all their Circumstances and Consequences when become Common to a whole Nation, or to many Nations, are very pernicious, and therefore all participation in them dangerous to particular Persons. Nor do I see how the *Pompous Titles and Vestments* of our Bishops can be excused from recommending these false Wares, instead of the genuine Ornaments of the Gospel, as Motives of Respect. And certain it is, that those Bishops, who in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, were the Principal Reformers of the Church of *England*, thought them fit to be reformed; nor was that opposed upon any consideration of Religion, but reason of State, and that not well considered, as the event hath proved. And I my self have discoursed with Bishops now living, who have expressed to me the same sense of these things, and I doubt not but would willingly consent to a reformation of them. But for their *Revenues*, I should not wish any abatement thereof, provided they were but conferred in such manner as might not continually fill and pester the Church with worldly Factious Men, and so used as they ought to be, as Talents whereof an Ac-

count must be given for the real Service of Religion ; that they who have Riches, were as rich in Good Works ; that so the People might be taught by their Example, as well as by their Doctrine, the true Use and Value of Temporal things, and the danger of Riches otherwise. Only whereas in the first Ages, the Stock and Revenues of the Church were employed partly for the Maintenance of the Bishop and Clergy in common, not of the Bishop alone, and partly for Works of Charity, (for such was then the Frugality and Piety of the Clergy, that their Charity often extended to very remote parts,) and whereas afterwards our Ancestors in this Nation (to say nothing of other Parts) so ordered the Matter, that besides an ample separate Revenue for the Bishop, all Parishes had a competent Maintenance for the inferiour Clergy belonging to them ; and it was one of the notorious Abuses of the Papacy to rob the richer Parishes of their maintenance for their own Clergy, and therewith augment the Revenues of the *Bishops*, or of the *Monasteries*, which was the Original of *Impropriations* ; I do not see how our Bishops and Deans, and Chapters can with good Conscience retain such *Impropriations*, and see the Parishes out of which they receive such Revenues, deprived of competent Maintenance for able Ministers, or enjoy so ample Revenues, as many of them do, and make so little use of it for the promotion of Christianity either abroad or at home ; contrary to the constant Doctrine of the Christians of all former Ages, that a Clergyman may not use the Stock of the Church, or the Revenues of his Benefice, but only as his Moderate need requires, and is obliged to employ the residue in Pious Uses ; and of the Casuists and Doctors of later Ages generally agreeing it to be a Sin in a Clergyman to mispend what exceeds his moderate Necessity, and many to be such a Sin, as obligeth to Restitution for the Service of the Church, and Religion : Which favours much of the genuine Christian Spirit.

But this Faction is of a contrary, or quite other Spirit : They have little zeal for, or sense of any pious Uses. Great Zealotes they are indeed for the Church, but it is but for the
the

the Pomp and Grandure of it, which consumes all, and can spare nothing for any truly pious Uses; and like the *Capernaïtes* who followed Christ for the Loaves, only for the Preferments, of which they hope for a share. And therefore it is that their Zeal and Jealousie is very warm against Dissenters, whom they look upon as their Rivals, or their Adversaries, be they never so sober, so Religious, and so Industrious for promoting of Piety and Vertue; but against the most Profane Contemners of all Religion, if they but favour the Faction, nothing at all. And no less Zealots for the State and Government, under the specious Name of Loyalty: But it is in truth only for the obtaining the Preferments, which are not to be had without favour at Court. And therefore they can easily be content to sacrifice the Rights of their Countrey for their own Preferment, and betray their Trust for Pensions and Gratuities; and their Kings too, by base Compliances, and by evil and pernicious Counsels, into such Courses, as make their Government no less uneasy to themselves, than to the People; and after all desert them when they see occasion to save themselves, if they have not before made their own case desperate. A just punishment I confess for such Princes as will not consider or be perswaded in time, that they who will betray their Country to gratifie them, will not fail to betray them also for their own Advantage, and to desert them in case of greatest Danger.

This plainly is the property of a deceitful Harlot, contrary to the Duty and Qualities of a truly loving and faithful Wife: And if we enquire into *the Original of these Amours*, it will be easie to trace them to the very beginning and first entrance of the *Scotch Race* into this Kingdom. King *James* his Heart was undoubtedly (as is usual in such cases) mightily lifted up with his so easie access to the Crown of *England*. And it no less filled the Hearts of others with *Hopes and Expectations*, some of Honours, some of Places and Estates, and some of both: which his Prodigality of both,

yet

count must be given for the real Service of Religion ; that they who have Riches, were as rich in Good Works ; that so the People might be taught by their Example, as well as by their Doctrine, the true Use and Value of Temporal things, and the danger of Riches otherwise. Only whereas in the first Ages, the Stock and Revenues of the Church were imployed partly for the Maintenance of the Bishop and Clergy in common, not of the Bishop alone, and partly for Works of Charity, (for such was then the Frugality and Piety of the Clergy, that their Charity often extended to very remote parts,) and whereas afterwards our Ancestors in this Nation (to say nothing of other Parts) so ordered the Matter, that besides an ample separate Revenue for the Bishop, all Parishes had a competent Maintenance for the inferiour Clergy belonging to them ; and it was one of the notorious Abuses of the Papacy to rob the richer Parishes of their maintenance for their own Clergy, and therewith augment the Revenues of the *Bishops*, or of the *Monasteries*, which was the Original of *Impropriations* ; I do not see how our Bishops and Deans, and Chapters can with good Conscience retain such *Impropriations*, and see the Parishes out of which they receive such Revenues, deprived of competent Maintenance for able Ministers, or enjoy so ample Revenues, as many of them do, and make so little use of it for the promotion of Christianity either abroad or at home ; contrary to the constant Doctrine of the Christians of all former Ages, that a Clergyman may not use the Stock of the Church, or the Revenues of his Benefice, but only as his Moderate need requires, and is obliged to employ the residue in Pious Uses ; and of the Casuists and Doctors of later Ages generally agreeing it to be a Sin in a Clergyman to mispend what exceeds his moderate Necessity, and many to be such a Sin, as obligeth to Restitution for the Service of the Church, and Religion : Which favours much of the genuine Christian Spirit.

But this Faction is of a contrary, or quite other Spirit : They have little zeal for, or sense of any pious Uses. Great Zealotes they are indeed for the Church, but it is but for the

the Pomp and Grandure of it, which consumes all, and can spare nothing for any truly pious Uses; and like the *Capernaites* who followed Christ for the Loaves, only for the Preferments, of which they hope for a share. And therefore it is that their Zeal and Jealousie is very warm against Dissenters, whom they look upon as their Rivals, or their Adversaries, be they never so sober, so Religious, and so Industrious for promoting of Piety and Vertue; but against the most Profane Contemners of all Religion, if they but favour the Faction, nothing at all. And no less Zealots for the State and Government, under the specious Name of Loyalty: But it is in truth only for the obtaining the Preferments, which are not to be had without favour at Court. And therefore they can easily be content to sacrifice the Rights of their Countrey for their own Preferment, and betray their Trust for Pensions and Gratuities; and their Kings too, by base Compliances, and by evil and pernicious Counsels, into such Courses, as make their Government no less uneasy to themselves, than to the People; and after all desert them when they see occasion to save themselves, if they have not before made their own case desperate. A just punishment I confess for such Princes as will not consider or be perswaded in time, that they who will betray their Country to gratifie them, will not fail to betray them also for their own Advantage, and to desert them in case of greatest Danger.

This plainly is the property of a deceitful Harlot, contrary to the Duty and Qualities of a truly loving and faithful Wife: And if we enquire into *the Original of these Amours*, it will be easie to trace them to the very beginning and first entrance of the *Scotch Race* into this Kingdom. King *James* his Heart was undoubtedly (as is usual in such cases) mightily lifted up with his so easie access to the Crown of *England*. And it no less filled the Hearts of others with *Hopes and Expectations*, some of Honours, some of Places and Estates, and some of both: which his Prodigality of both,

yet

[22]

yet more enlarged, and Emulation raised to the highest degree. These Emulations were partly National between the *Scotch* and *English*; and partly among the *English* themselves, and those of two sorts, such as at the Court sought Preferment in the State, and such as sought either Preferment in the Church, or Favour in Church matters: So that he was addressed to, and courted by all Parties for his Favour, in an extraordinary manner, and by most in the usual methods of Courtship, viz. Magnifying his Wisdom, and his State and Power beyond Truth and Modesty, insinuating into him all the Prejudice that might be against those who were looked upon as Rivals; and recommending their own specious Services, by misrepresenting the Modesty of others for want of affection. And so gross, notorious and impudent were the Acts of this Courtship, as provoked the House of Commons in the very first Parliament, to make a Declaration of their Grief *to find his Majesty, to the extream prejudice of his Subjects of England, so greatly wronged by Misinformation*; and among other things concerning the Rights and Liberties of his Subjects of *England*, and the Privileges of Parliament, which they there assert, but belong not to this place to be here recited.

Among the Competitors for his Favour were many serious religious people, who sought his Favour only for the Reformation of some things in the Church, which were thought not so thoroughly reformed as was to be wished. And for that purpose prepared a Petition which was subscribed by many hundred hands: They had encouraged themselves upon the Favour the King had formerly shewed them, in writing to the Queen on their behalf; and they had had an Agent with him immediately upon the Queens death, to whom without doubt he gave a fair and smooth Answer. But some of the Bishops were not behind hand with them in *Scotland*, and soon outwent them in the Success of their Courtship and his Favour after he came into *England*. He had

had conceived a Prejudice against a *Scotch Presbytery* before : This *Bancroft* and some other hot men took advantage of, both to heighten the prejudice against all who desired any thing of a Reformation here, and to insinuate themselves into his Favour. And when he found himself received, and securely settled in the Throne beyond his Expectation, he soon discover'd his Inclinations; and more particularly in his *Proclamation*, 24 Oct. 1603. *Concerning such as seek Reformation in Church matters*: Which stopp'd the Petition for some time; and in the *Conference at Hampton-Court*, 14 Jan. which whether appointed at the instance of any others, or at the Kings own pleasure, is uncertain; but served, as appears by the Relation, principally for the King to express his Favour to the Bishops, and Conforming party, and his Prejudice against the rest, and for them to express their Respects to him, as some of them did by speaking to him upon the knee, (viz. *Whitgift* and *Bancroft*,) and applauding what he said, as undoubtedly spoken by the special assistance of Gods Spirit; and for mutual Courtship and Indearments between them.

But though they were never so well assured of the Kings Favour, yet were they fearful of the Parliament, which had often in the Queens Time been upon Bills against Pluralities, and for Reformation of other matters, which though the Archbishop by the Queens means had prevailed to have stopped, yet was he so concerned, that he wished he might not live to see another Parliament. And this disposed Them, not only by way of Complement, as a means to recommend themselves to the King, but in good earnest for their own Interest, being well assured of his Favour, to magnifie the Kings Authority, and set it as high as might be, even without the concurrence of the Parliament, and to derogate as much as they durst from their Authority. And this again so much the more disposed the King to favour Them, not politickly in apperance only, but in good earnest, as the most apt Instruments he could have for his

De-

Designs, (which appear by many plain instances to have been from his first coming in to set up himself by his Arts and Kingcraft above all Law ;) and for that end, to confirm and enlarge the Authority of the Bishops and Clergy, which depended upon him for their Preferment, as much as might be, to make them the more capable to serve his turn.

And these are the true Principles, which have produced and raised this Faction to what it is : For upon these Principles were things managed by a secret Correspondence between him and some leading men of the Clergy. Accordingly in the next Convocation, after they had provided in the first *Cannon* for asserting his Supremacy according to the Law of the Land against all Foreign Jurisdiction, in the next *Canon* they set it up paramount, the Law, and without the Parliament, to be *the same Authority in Causes Ecclesiastical, that the godly Kings had among the Jews, and Christian Emperours in the Primitive Church* ; and might with as much reason have asserted as much concerning his Authority in Civil matters if they durst, for both depend upon the same Principles ; but that both he and they knew very well would never have passed without being taken notice of, and question'd in Parliament.

And therefore there was another Project to help that out, carried on with great Artifice and Secrecy in the same Convocation, which at last hath appeared in print, published by the late Archbishop, under the Title of *Bishop Overals Convocation Book* (though he was no Bishop in seven years after it pass'd the Convocation,) The chief purpose of which is pretended to be, *to imitate the Scriptures in setting out and describing the Dignity of our Saviour Christ by his Almighty Power and Universal Government of all the World*, as they say in the beginning. But they tell us not what Occasion they had to do this in so solemn a manner. The King in his Letter (lately published) to good Dr. Abbot (who probably was not acquainted with the Intreigue,) tells them, *You know all of you, as I think, that my Reason of calling you together, was to*
give

give your Judgments: How far a Christian and a Protestant King may concur to assist his Neighbours to shake off their Obedience to their own Sovereign, upon the account of Oppression, Tyranny, or what else you like to name it? Nor does there appear any just Occasion for this: For if it be well considered, it was not War, but a Treaty of Peace between the *Hollanders* and *Spain*, which was then under consideration. Nor does the Form of the Book suit with a meer Resolution of such a Doubt: For it is one thing to give a Judgment or Opinion of a Case of Conscience, and another to make Canons and Decrees. Nor lastly, is the matter of it proportionable only to such an Occasion. And therefore if the Matter and Form of the Book be well considered, there will appear great reason to believe that these were meer Pretences to cover some other Design; and that *the true Design of the Book* was only or principally to assert, That an Absolute, Irresistible and Unaccountable Monarchy, without consent of the People, is *Jure Divino*, Gods Ordinance, Originally descending from him, and depending upon him; and that all others are degenerate Forms of Government; and to assert a like *Jus Divinum* for their own Ecclesiastical Government, and withall to prejudice, vilifie and decry all Claim of any Right in the Government, or of Liberties by the People, with the reproachful Terms, and under the Notion of *Factionary Popularity*, which are plainly known to have been the Kings own Sentiments, by whose special License and Authority they did sit and consult. And this is so plain and visible in the Book, that the Learned Dr. *Sherlock* makes no Scruple to speak it out plainly, that *The principal Design of it is to assert the Irresistible Authority of Sovereign Princes*; which was as much of it as his Subject led him to speak of; otherwise I doubt not but had he had occasion, he could and would have said as much of the other part of the Design, *viz. the Ecclesiastical Government.*

And if this was indeed the Design, it was, in my apprehension, especially as it was managed in that clandestine

and covert way, and with such a Form of Authority, not only unjust, but vile and dishonourable, unbefitting the Majesty of a *King*, or the dignity of a Convocation of *Clergymen*, and a great abuse of Religion, to prostitute the Reputation of so venerable Authority to abuse People out of their Right; nay, to enchant them as it were to venture their Lives and Fortunes against their own Right and Interest, as it did by degrees at last make them do, besides many other Mischiefs it hath produced, and principally upon the Authors, as is very usual by the Just Judgments of the Righteous God. But all this I will endeavour to make plain and manifest as briefly as I can, in the several Particulars following.

1. That King *James* 1. notwithstanding his many Professions and solemn Protestations to govern according to Law, did *from the very beginning of his Reign*, study and employ all his King-craft, to make himself *Absolute*, and get all into his own Power. This is so well known, that I need only mention some of his *Artifices* and Attempts to that purpose, with References to Evidences and Testimonies thereof. As,

1. Upon the *Parliament* it self. 1. To restrain the Freedom of *Elections* of Knights and Burgessees, and the Returns of Members for divers Corporations, as may be perceived by his Proclamation 1 *Jan*, 1 *Jac*. 2. To draw the *Determination* of such *Elections* into the *Chancery*, before an Officer of his own, as may be seen in the Case of Sir *Fr. Goodwyn*, 1 *Jac*. lately published in *Lex Parliamentaria*. 3. To restrain their *Freedom of Debates*, which was complained of in *Parliament*, with the two preceding, 1 *Jac*. and afterward occasioned that Remonstrance, 24 *May*, 8 *Jac*. and at last produced that free and generous Protestation concerning their Rights in print, in *Wilson* p. 188. and *Rushworth* p. 53. To which, others might be added; which made the *Parliament* tell him, that in the first *Parliament* of his Reign, the Privileges of their House, and therein the Liberties and Stability of the whole Kingdom had been more universally and dangerously impugned, than ever since the beginning of *Parliaments*, &c. V. *Journal*, An. 1.

2. To make his *Proclamations* pass for Laws or Edicts, (as they have since done in *France*) of which he published no less than *Seventy* in the

the first Year of his Reign, and many every year after, till they were printed all together in a Volume, in the form of Acts of Parliament, and Books were written for their Authority, and that the Parliament took notice and complained of it. And then he began to cover it as well as he could by another Proclamation, 24 Sept. 8 Jac.

3. To impose Taxes without consent of Parliament, as appears by the Remonstrance, 24 May, 1610. printed with a learned and necessary Argument concerning that matter, and the Benevolence notwithstanding extorted, Anno 1614. v. *Wilson* p. 78.

4. To set up Extrajudicial Opinions of Judges for Laws, (vide the *Apol. 1. Jac.*) and to impose upon the Judges to give Judgments in favour of Prerogative contrary to the Laws, and their own Oaths, as may be seen in *Franklins Annals*, Anno 1616. 14 Jac. which compared with that noble Case of *Cavendish* in *Anderson*, 1 Rep. 152. in the Queens time, the different behaviour of them two and their Judges, will appear very remarkable.

5. To tune the Pulpits, (as some pretend that Queen Elizabeth used to phrase it) and set the Clergy on work by Preaching, Writing and Discourses, to promote his Designs by pretence of Scripture and Religion, and to make good by colour of Divinity what could not be done by Law, and seek Principles for a chosen Conclusion, which is the matter now in hand. And therefore,

The Second particular is, That there was at that time a Party of the Clergy, who (besides a Court Faction) struck in, joyned and held a secret Correspondence with him for the promoting of these matters. This might be observed in divers Instances precedent to his first Parliament ; but the Complaints of the House of Commons the very first Sessions, of some of the *Higher Clergy* writing a Book against them, even the Parliament sitting, and the *Inferiour Clergy* inveighing against them in Pulpits ; yea, publishing Protestations tending to the Impeachment of their most ancient and undoubted Rights, as may be seen in the Journal, is sufficient evidence of it self, and yet will receive farther Confirmation from what follows.

The third is, That this Work was an Arcanum Imperii, and managed and transacted in a secret mysterious and disguised manner between them. This we may see plainly by what They pretend to be Their chief Purpose, and He to be His Reason of calling them together, that they did agree in this, that each Party did use Colours and Pretences : but as it usually falls out in secret Conspiracies, that all Circumstances are not provided for, so in this their Disagreement in the Particular, discovers that both

were but Pretence. This may further be perceived by the *Kings Letter to good Dr. Abbot*, published in the *Observer*: For why should he write of that matter to Good Dr. *Abbot*, rather than to Trusty Dr. *Bancroft*, who was President of the Upper House of Convocation for the Province of *Canterbury*? or to *Thornborough* Bishop of *Bristol*, who was one of that Convocation, and besides was thought fit to be made President for the Province of *York*? or to Learned Dr. *Overall*, who was the person employed to draw up the Book, and was besides Prolocutor of the Lower House? Nay, why was it written at all? Had the King no Conference with any of them? Was not Archbishop *Bancroft* a Privy Councillor? And was none of these able to declare the Kings pleasure to the Convocation? And why should his Orders (mentioned in that Letter) to a Convocation of the Clergy be sent by his Solicitor, and he be again employed in that business to them? Must our Solicitor instruct our Bishops and Clergy in matters of Divinity? or must the Bishops and Clergy determine matters of Law, and Right, and Civil Government according to the Kings pleasure, by the Information of his Solicitor? What other probable Reason can be conceived for all this, but that there being an *Arcanum Imperii* to be managed with great Policy and Secrecy, under another Pretence, they who were the principal Confidants and Agents for promoting the Secret, must not appear openly at all concerned in it; but because somebody must be employed for the King, good Dr. *Abbot*, whom no body would suspect to be privy to any such Intragues, and the Solicitor, a Man of another profession, must be put upon some service which might disguise the matter, and help to prevent suspicion of the true Design? And this to me is a great Confirmation that it was all Trick and Intreague between the King and some leading Men in the Convocation for the purpose aforesaid. But the while I cannot but pity that Good Man, and divers other such of that Convocation, who, if they did not consent to those things in the Convocation, are abused by *Bancroft*, or *Thornborough*, or *Overall*; or if they did, were not less abused, being drawn into a matter, the bottom of which they did not understand, by a vile Conspiracy and mischievous Faction, which hath hitherto been the Bane of the Church of *England*, and of the State too, and will henceforward be the shame of that Convocation to after Ages.

And from hence we may also perceive the true Reason, why so notable a Work of this Convocation hath been so great a Secret in our History, and so little taken notice of for above fourscore years, till of late

late made publick ; and that which may also serve for a further Confirmation of this matter. Some indeed have concluded from the Letter to Dr. *Abbot*, that it was because *the King was displeased with them, viz.* for a passage there mentioned ; and though the words mentioned in the Letter are not literally the same, as in the printed Convocation Book, yet in Charity they could scarce believe any Alterations made in the Cannons before they were printed. But by the Letter we understand that the King was not so displeased but that he promised to send them his Orders about it by Mr. Solicitor, and bids them *till then* meddle no more with it. And the Publisher of the Book informs us, that there were several Amendments made by the Upper House of Convocation, and that the Book was printed according to them. And the Subscriptions of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and of the Bishop of *Bristol* President of the Convocation of *York*, to the first Book, shew that the Work did afterward go on, was finished, and passed not only that Convocation, but that of the Province of *York* also : And further than that, did they go, even to adde two Books more to it. So that there was no such displeasure of the King against it ; nor could that be the reason why those Canons were never ratified in Parliament, or stamped with the Kings Authority. But the most probable Reason, consonant to the Nature of the thing, and to the Methods which were used, is either, That it was *never intended to be published*, lest it should be confuted, and so the Design spoil'd, or censured in Parliament, and so turned against them, but be kept as a Secret : For so its Authority would be no less Venerable, nor would its Effects be less powerfull upon some prime leading men, who might influence others : Or, That it was *thought fit first to try how some such Notions vented by private men would pass or escape*, before the Venerable Authority of such a Work should be exposed to Censure. And accordingly soon after were divers Books with passages in them to the same purpose published, of which notice was taken in Parliament, and among the rest one by *Blackwell* a Secular Priest, whom, if I mistake not, *Bancroft* kept in his House, or protected ; and another written by *John Covel* Doctor of Law, and dedicated to the Archbishop, (*Bancroft*,) who, as he there saith, at his coming to him from the University, first put him upon those Studies, and was suspected, as he confessed in Parliament, to have a Finger in the Book. And upon this the *Commons* first, and afterward *both Houses*, fell very warmly ; till the King seeing what they were like to do, to save his Champion from more severe Censure, and to pacifie the Par-

Par.

Parliament, takes upon himself to suppress it, by a Proclamation on purpose. And a *Proclamation* indeed came out, but such as sufficiently shews the Kings Disposition and Tenderneſs in the Caſe. And this was a ſufficient Experiment to ſhew then what was like to become of the Convocation Book ſhould it be offered to the Parliament, authorized by the King, or ſo much as appear in publick: And this may be the reaſon why it was ſo long before any compleat Treatiſe upon thoſe Principles ever appeared: For that, if done by any conſiderable Perſon, might not only have provoked the Censure of the Parliament, but have expoſed them to Examination and Diſcuſſion of able Lawyers, and other Learned men both at Home and abroad, (for all Nations are concerned in it,) and that K. James and ſome others of that Party had reaſon enough to ſuſpect they would not bear: And therefore we meet with little of them, till Sir Ro. Filmer's *Patriarcha* was publiſhed after his Death, upon the perſwaſion of Dr. Heylin, and after K. Charles 2. his Reſtoration, at a very ſeaſonable time for ſuch ſtuff. So that this was ſufficient reaſon why ſo extraordinary a Work as this, which concerns all the Governments of the World, and could not eſcape the Cenſures of all, beſides the Effect it might have in the Parliament and the whole Nation, ſhould be no leſs carefully kept ſecret than we find it to have been, (though that be very ſtrange,) to produce its Effect like ſome Spell or Magical Operation, unperceived, as I ſhall further explain it, when I have diſpatched one particular more. And that is,

4. That this Secret, this Work of Darkneſs, was a Work alſo of Diſhoneſty, a *Hidden Work of Diſhoneſty*, and a Myſtery of Iniquity: I might adde, and of kin to the great Myſtery of Iniquity. And to diſpatch this, I ſhall paſs by leſſer matters, and apply my ſelf only to the *Two main Pillars*, upon which all their pretended *Irreſiſtible Power* of all Sovereign Princes depend, which if I do but remove from under their Structure, all their work muſt fall to the Ground. Theſe two Pillars or Principles of their Regal Power, are, the one *Patriarchal*, derived from the Patriarchs; the other *Providential*, acquired by the Diſpoſal of the Divine Providence.

Upon the *Patriarchal* they build a *Jus Divinum* for an Abſolute, Irreſiſtible Monarchy, making and calling all other Forms of Government *Degenerate Forms*. But for a Foundation for this, having no Evidence of any Poſitive Law of God, they are forced to have recourſe to the Law of Nature; and becauſe from thence they could only prove a *Poteſtas Patria*, they would confound that and *Poteſtas Regia*;

Regia; and that *Potestas Patria* is in a sort *potestas Regia*, we must believe upon their Authority. Which is right like deceitfull Builders, to build upon a false or uncertain Foundation. But had it bin in truth as they would have us believe, that *Potestas Patria* was after a sort *Regia*, and so the Patriarchs were indeed Monarchs, (which they were not, though they were indeed more, *viz.* Lords and Proprietors,) yet, because the Brother hath not by any Law of Nature any such Power or Authority over his Brethren, as the Father hath over his Children, the *Monarchy* after the death of the Patriarch, if he hath divers Children, doth necessarily by the Law of Nature resolve it self into an *Aristocracy*, and that again after a Generation or two into a *Democracy*, as the ultimate result of Nature, where it resteth as having attained its greatest Perfection, under the Theocracy of the supreme Monarch of the World, and from whence no Monarchy can ever proceed, but either by the expresse Appointment of God, or by Agreement, Consent or Act of the People, or by Violence, which may acquire a Possession indeed, but never any Right, *jure naturali*. And a meer Violence without Right, may by the Law of Nature be removed by Force, whenever sufficient can be raised to do it: So that for any King to disown any Title by Consent of the People, unless he claim by expresse Appointment of Almighty God; is a Disclaimer of the best Title he hath, and a kind or degree of Abdication: And consequently all who do so, are Usurpers and Tyrants, and may justly be deposed whenever the People pleases, and can do it. Besides, since there is no Prince in the World who can claim by this Patriarchal Right, or is possessed of any such Government, what is to call all other forms *degenerate Forms*, but to affront all the Governments now in the World.

The other Pillar or Principle of *Providential Right*, which is settled *Ch. 28.* and the Canon following, is this: *That when Subjects shake off their Obedience to their Sovereigns, and set up a Form of Government after their own Humours; or Kings through Ambition and Malice invade their Neighbours, they do wickedly: And that the Offences of such Rebels or Oppressing Kings are not misigned by the Providence of God in using them: But when any such New Forms of Government, begun by Rebellion, are after thoroughly settled, the Authority in them is of God; and all who live within the Territories of such New Governments, are bound to be subject to Gods Authority, which is there executed, and may not rebel against the same.* They are their own words, as the Book is printed. But here it was they were at a stand, at this *Ch.* and

Canon.

Canon. The King in his Letter before mentioned, calls it a *Thorny Business*. It seems he had led, if not drove them into a Labyrinth, out of which neither he nor they knew how to extricate themselves. So hard it is when Men leave honest, plain, and simple Truth, to fix upon Principles for a chosen Conclusion, and to form any Pillars which can support a false and deceitful Building. The King had done before what he could in his sly way, *quasi alind agens*. He had often told his Mind concerning *Jus Regium in subditos*, as in May last (they are his Words in the Letter) in the *Star-Chamber*, upon the Occasion of *Hales's Pamphlet*. "And Mr. Solicitor, (*saith he*) "hath sufficiently express'd my own thoughts concerning the Nature "of Kingship in general, and concerning the Nature of it, *ut in mea* " *persona*. And yet after all it seems he was at a loss about it, and therefore saith, *They are Edg'd tools, or rather like that Weapon that's said to cut with one Edge, and cure with the other*, and bids them meddle no more in it till He gives them *His Orders* by Mr. Solicitor. What *His Orders* were we know not yet; but whatever they were, we may perceive them all here plainly intangled, confounded, and inconsistent with themselves, and their Principal Design: and so as to establish and confirm what they designed to subvert and abolish, that is, The Peoples Rights and Interest in Government, and that *Jure Divino* as plainly as any Right of Monarchs; and to subvert what they designed to build or fortifie, *viz.* an essential Absoluteness and Irresistibility of Monarchy *Jure Divino*.

For, 1. They had been imposing upon the S. Scriptures, and straining it in the 27. Chapters, and as many Canons preceding, to extort from it some appearance of a Divine Prescript or Appointment of such an Absolute Irresistible Patriarchal Monarchy, as the only approved Form of Government, and for their own Hierarchy subject to it; and this under pretence of setting out the Deity, Dignity, Almighty Power, and Universal Government of our Saviour Christ. Which how near of kin it is to the *Romish Antichristian Imposture*, and how gross an Act of Spiritual Fornication between them, and what an illegitimate and spurious brood was like to be generated by it, I leave to such Readers as have their Senses exercised to judge.

2. But how to derive this *Patriarchal Right* to all Sovereign Principles now, was such a Difficulty as put them to a loss. By Hereditary Succession they could not: for none can now prove himself Heir by Descent to any of the Patriarchs; nor can any now prove a Divine Nomination or Appointment of himself or any Ancestor, to whom he can prove himself Heir by Descent; or any Grant from any
such

such Patriarch or Prince. And to derive any Right from a deliberate and well considered Agreement of a Free People, was contrary to the Design; and they had already resolved and decreed, *Can. 2.* with no little Sophistry, "That if any man affirm any such thing of a Civil Power and Authority in, or derived from the People, (whom they please not to name without some additional Title of Disorder-ly Multitude, or Faction Popularity,) he doth greatly erre.

3. And therefore having taken all that pains to lead People into a persuasion that such an Absolute, Irresistible Monarchy is *Jure Divino*, for an Expedient to supply that Defect, and derive this to all Sovereign Princes now *Jure Divino* only, without admitting any Right derived from the People, they contrive this Artifice, to frame this other Pillar, only of the wicked Acts of Usurpers and Rebels, (as if no others but such were the Authors and Founders of All Governments now in being,) and the Providence of God interposing and overruling these wicked Acts to his own Designs. Which is such a piece of *shuffling Disingenuity*, or rather *Dishonesty and Impiety*, as no man of a Christian Spirit will offer to excuse, but abominate and detest; being built upon a false Supposition, contrary to many plain Instances in *Aristotle* and divers ancient Historians, and other Writers of the Original of Governments, of which such Learned men as *Bancroft*, and the principal Managers of that Convocation, could not be ignorant.

4. But in this, as such Enterprizes use to prove, by the special Judgment of God, their *Folly and Infatuation* appears to be no less than their Disingenuity and Dishonesty: For from their Doctrine and Resolutions will these things undenyably follow, contrary to their own Design, *Viz.*

1. That God hath not determined by any positive Law or Declaration of his Will in the S. Scripture, any *one Form* of Civil Government for all Nations; but left that to the Determination of his Special Providence, disposing the Nature, and Circumstances and Minds of People, and interposing in their Actions and Counsels to constitute one or other, as should seem most expedient. And,

2. That if when any new Form of Government (whatever it be) is thoroughly settled, the Authority in it is of God, and all are bound to be subject to Gods Authority which is there executed; then is the Authority which the People either retain in the First Constitution of a Government, or recover afterwards, when thoroughly settled, whether in the making, dispensing with, or abrogating Laws, inspecting the Government, or Correcting the Exorbitances of Princes themselves; or whatever else, as much of God, and *Jure Divino*, as the Authority of any King whatever can be.

3. That if this be true in the Case even of such *new Governments* as began by so unjust and wicked means as *Usurpations and Rebellions*, as is affirmed and decreed by the Convocation, then must it be confessed to be unquestionably true in the case of all such Governments as began without any such wicked or unjust Means, and were constituted by a *deliberate mutual Agreement of a Free People*, who being *sui juris*, might and ought, *jure naturali & divino*, to consider and agree of such a Form of Government as They should judge most expedient for themselves.

4. That if a *Free People* wisely considering the Inconveniences incident to the three simple Forms of Government, *constitute a Form of Government* for themselves, so composed as to comprehend whatever is desirable in any of them, and to avoid the Inconveniences incident to each, as far as their Humane Prudence can discern; do this upon great Deliberation, and by *Publick Pact* or Mutual Agreement; and ratifie the same by *Solemn Oath* of all Parties: Such an Original of Government is according to the *Law of Nature*, being a Necessary Provision, upon Principles of Reason and Wisdom, for the Common Good, without Injury to any; hath the *Obligation of the Law of Nature*, being a Publick Pact by mutual and Deliberate Agreement; hath also a *Divine Obligation* by the *Solemn Oath* of the Parties, subjecting all to the Judgment of God in a special manner; and may reasonably be believed to have been promoted by the secret Energy or Providence of God, who is a Lover of Mankind, and always ready to assist them in all Sober, Just and Wise Counsels; to be *his Ordinance*, and to have *his Authority* in all respects in a special manner: And that the Violation of any part of such a Constitution, by whomsoever it is, is a Violation of the Ordinance of God, and like to provoke his Judgments upon all who shall dare to transgress so many and great Obligations; and most severely upon such as shall do it with a high hand, let their pretences be what they will.

5. If in a Government so constituted, it be agreed more particularly, that a certain Person, being best qualified for that purpose, for the necessary Exercise of Government, shall be as it were the Principle of motion; and for the greater Honour and Majesty of the State shall have the Title of *King*, and be invested with the *Emblems of Majesty*, the *Crown and Scepter*, by express consent of the People first solemnly asked, but first shall take a *Solemn Oath at his Coronation* to Govern according to the Laws, before any Subject shall swear Allegiance to him: shall have with those the Jewels and Crown-Lands, and Publick Revenue of the Nation; but to use for the

the State and Defence of the Realm, not to alienate at his Pleasure: In the *Administration of Justice*, all Authority, Process, Precepts, and Writs, &c. shall be in his Name, but so as he may not refuse it to any; the designation and authorizing of the Persons of the Judges, shall be by him, but only with such Powers, and for such Judicatures as are constituted by Law; and they shall be sworn to Judge and do Justice according to Law, shall not obey his Letters or Commands to the contrary; and he himself and his Actions in Civil Matters shall be subject unto and bound by their Judgment: In *Matters of State* all shall be by his Authority, but by Advice of the Nobility, or of a Privy Council of Persons sworn in due Form of Law, and who shall be answerable for what Advice they give: Lastly, As to the *Ardua Regni*, and *Great Matters*, of making, dispensing with, and repealing Laws, redressing of Grievances, imposing of Taxes, making of War, &c. the *Assembling of the States* of the Realm shall be by him, but within a certain definite time; the *Dismission* of them likewise, but not till all the Business be dispatched; the *Ratification of Laws* shall be by him, but only of such as are first agreed both in Matter and Form by the other States: He may *make War* by Advice of the Privy Council, but at his own Charge, unless the other States agree to it; and if it prove prejudicial to the Nation, they are to consider of it: And to them the Imposing of Taxes, the Examination and Declaration of Grievances, and the Inspection and Consideration of the Management, State and Condition of All belongs, as a Right and Power remaining in and retained by them. In summ, the Government is so constituted of all the three Forms, that the *Regal* is plainly but *one third* part of the whole, and that most *Honorary*, *conferr'd* upon him by the rest, and apparently in all the Parts *in trust* for the Whole; but most of the rest *Originally* in them, retained by them, and so remaining in them, *jure naturali*: This Constitution must by the Doctrine of this Convocation be confessed to be, as it is in truth, *the Ordinance of God*, and the Authority which it hath, to be *Gods Authority*.

Now such a King is a *Sovereign Prince*, and he is *Absolute*; that is, he is not bound by any Tenure to any other Emperour, King or State: In this sence he is both these, and his Crown is for the same reason an *Imperial Crown*: But otherwise he is not Absolute to do what he pleaseth, that is, without Law, or that *his Will* should be a Law, as the *Roman Emperours* was, *Quod Principi placuerit Lex esto*. He hath so much as the Common Agreement or the Constitution hath given him, and no more; the other States in all things else retaining their Natural Power, and not only the Laws, which

he is sworn to observe, confining him within bounds, but the very Constitution, which gives him his being: And therefore if a Question arise in such a Constitution concerning any Right of King or People, the Proof will ly on the part of the King to make good his Claim by the publick Agreement or Constitution, and not on the part of the People, who have a precedent Title, viz. *Jure Naturali*, and are subject to him in nothing but what he hath by the Constitution, or Original Contract.

And such an intire Constitution being *the Ordinance of God*, and the Authority residing in the whole, and in each part *Gods Authority*, the Authority of the whole is *Irresistible*; and the Authority of each of the Parts equally *Irresistible*. And therefore, as whoever violates the Authority of the whole violates Gods Authority, so whoever violates the Authority of either of the parts, in that part violates the Authority of the whole, and Gods Authority; and may therefore be resisted, though it be either of the Parts that doth it, even the King himself: For in that he doth not act by, but contrary to Gods Authority: and *Resistance of the King* in such case, is no Resistance of his Authority (for he had no such Authority to do what he doth,) but of a Tyrant, or an Invader, Aggressor or Usurper; nor *Rebellion*, but a Just Defence of the Government and Constitution, of Gods Ordinance and Gods Authority. But on the other side, as such a *Violation* may be, either by open Force, or by Fraud, secret Practice and Conspiracy, so they who do it this way, are as much Traytors against the Government, as they are Rebels who do it the other, though against the King himself. And if the King in such a Constitution, conspire with a part of the People to do this, He and They become thereby, a Trayterous Faction, He violates Gods Ordinance, his own Oath, and in effect Abdicates his Government, and may justly be deposed for his Trayterous Practice, and They be punished as Betrayers of their Countrey, and Traytors to the Government. And God himself doth often punish such Abuses of his Authority, especially in persons professing Religion, even in this Life by his Providence with very severe and *remarkable Judgments*. And such we may observe in the present business of the Convocation, and the Consequences thereof, from first to last, as will further appear in what follows. For,

From what hath been said, I think it apparent, that the Doctrine and Resolutions of this Convocation, do, as I said, plainly confirm what they were designed to subvert, and subvert what they were designed to erect or raise up; which is an argument of a very strange Infatuation, as if God had smitten them with Astonishment, given them

them a Spirit of Slumber, and mingled a *perverse Spirit* in the midst of them ; as he threatned to do in the Counsels of the *Egyptians*, *Isa.* 19. a thing not at all incredible, or indeed to be questioned, if we consider how wicked and perverse a work it was they were about, which is likewise apparent and easie to be concluded from what hath been said : that is, in general, as I said before, a hidden Work of Dishonesty, and a very Mystery of Iniquity ; but more particularly such a *Conspiracy* as I mentioned but now, with divers *Aggravating Circumstances*.

For that Constitution there described is the very true and genuine *English Constitution*, and one of the best in the World. But the *Principal Design* of that Book, (as Dr. *Sherlock* hath rightly observed, and is apparent to an ordinary Capacity) and by consequence of that King, and of the Principal Managers of that Convocation in it, was to assert the Irresistible Authority of Sovereign Princes, as he phraseth it, that is, such an Authority, *Jure Divino*, as makes them irresistible in any thing : Which is utterly inconsistent with such a Constitution, where the Supreme Authority is so divided among several Essential parts, as with us, the King, the Lords, and the Commons. So that it was plainly a Conspiracy against the Government of their Country, to enslave their Country, and turn the Legal Government thereof into Tyranny ; against an Ancient settled Government of their Countrey, and therefore, according to their own Doctrine, against the Ordinance of God, and Gods Authority.

And *their End* in it was plainly for their own Advantage, the very same with that of the Papists, and generally of aspiring Courtiers : They are all for Arbitrary Government, not only in pretence to insinuate themselves into Favour, but in reality, because they find it more easie to deal with the single Person of a Prince, and to deceive him with Flatteries and Insinuations, than with so great a Body of Men as an *English Parliament*, among whom it can hardly be expected but there will alwayes be some or other of Parts and Ability to discern and defeat their Projects before they can bring them to perfection, and who will not be corrupted, as Favourites often may. And the Parliament in the Queens time had bin so often upon Reformation of Pluralities, Non-residence, and other matters as ungrateful to them, as before to the Papacy, that they even dreaded the thoughts of it. And this was their Tentation, and the Occasion of their engaging in such a Work, in such a Manner.

And indeed *the Manner* of their managing this Work is no less observable, being altogether agreeable to a Mystery of Iniquity, viz.

1. Un-

1. Under *False Pretences*; pretence of Religion, and pretence of setting out the Dignity of our Saviour Christ, by his Almighty Power, and Universal Government of the World; so like the Great Mystery, that never was Daughter more like her Mother. 2. With *gross Sophistry and Fallacies*, craftily leading People into such Opinions as they cautiously forbear to affirm. As *Can. 2.* concerning the Original of Civil Power, to affirm, *That it was derived from the People*, they seem very formally to condemn as a great Error; and yet they craftily intermix so many allayes, that indeed they do not, unless it be affirmed, 1. As a *Consequence* of such Premises there mentioned as may be in some sort false. 2. That it was *first* so derived. 3. And not simply from the People, but from the People and disordered Multitude. And 4. it must also be coupled with this Negation, *and is not Gods Ordinance*, &c. So that it seems a designed Artifice to deceive the People, and mislead them into an Opinion, which yet they themselves did not believe, and had therefore secured their Evasion: which might be confirmed from many other Instances of their Canons, contrived and drawn up in such a fraudulent and fallacious form. That of *Can. 28.* I have touched already, and the Fraud being detected, I leave the rest to every ones own Observation. And 3. This is done with the greatest *Solemnity and Formality* that could be, in a Convocation of the Clergy, in the Form of Canons and Decrees, and those severally passed as upon particular Debates, with a *Placet eis* to each, and attested to have passed with one consent, (under the terms of *Constitutions*) by *Bancroft*, for the upper House of the Province of *Canterbury*, by *Overal* for the lower House, and by *Thornborough* for the Province of *York*; whereas those Canons of that Convocation, which were published, passed only the Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury*.

And now to consider the *Consequences* of it, How scandalous and impious it is to the *Christian Religion*, and how scandalous and derogatory to the *Authority of the Church of England*, and Convocations of our Clergy, I leave to the Consideration of others: Likewise how pernicious it might have been to the *Civil Government* of Sovereign Princes and their States, by sowing the seeds of Dissention between them, had this Convocation Book been published, and obtained Authority or Reputation in the World: But what Work it might have made in the World, may be perceived by what it hath actually made in these Nations, which I will briefly note in some few Observations concerning the *Progress and Success* of it, and of this Regal Ecclesiastical Faction.

Whether Archbishop *Whigist* had before had any hand in laying down

down the Plot or not, he lived not to have any share in the Management of the Convocation: That Dr. Heylin (*Life of Laud, Anno 1610. p. 63.*) attributes solely to his Successor *Bancroft*, who had before manag'd *A Secret Correspondence* with *K. James* in Scotland, *insinuating unto him the Necessity of Conforming both Kingdoms in Government, and Forms of Worship, and laying down a Plot for restoring Episcopacy to that Kirk, without Noise or Trouble.* But that Faculty of laying down Plots he notes in them both, and the great Intimacy there was between them. And another special Qualification in *Bancroft* for such a Work, may be observed from that Author, *viz. a close management of his matters without noise, and forbearing upon occasion to appear in them himself.* I have already noted (*p. 27.*) the *Complaints of that Parliament* against the *Higher Clergy* for writing Books, and the *Inferiour Clergy* for inveighing from the Pulpits against them; and (*ps. 29.*) that Book of Dr. *Cowels*, published not long after the passing the Convocation Book, which may all reasonably be judged the Effects of this Work of the Convocation. *Thornborough* himself had before written one, for which he was questioned in Parliament. And though *Bancroft* published none now, yet he failed not to promote the Work otherways, not only by close Insinuations, but by open plain Assertions, whereof *Coke's 12. Report, ps. 63.* hath a considerable Instance, and by encouragement of such Principles in the Court, the Universities, and all parts. And doubtless his Project of a New Colledge at *Chelsey*, for which he had gotten an Act of Parliament, was principally designed for a Seminary of Champions for this Cause; and being Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, he would not fail to leaven and prepare many there for the purpose. But Death put an end to his Progress and Project, 2 Nov. 1610.

But the Faction died not with him: Nor was the Propagation of the Doctrine, even by printed Books, neglected. There was one published that Year, and dedicated to him by Dr. *Carleton*, afterwards Bishop of *Landaff*, which hath divers passages in it to that purpose, and others it seems there were, which occasioned new complaints in Parliament the same Year. And yet so hotly was it still maintained and promoted, that within few Years after was Bishop *Neile*, (who by the Power and Mediation of *Bancroft*, was made Clerk of the Closet, *That standing continually at the Kings Elbow, he might be ready to perform Good Offices to the Church and Churchmen, Heyl. p. 60.*) for seditious Speeches questioned in Parliament, till by many tears, and a submissive behaviour he got off: But he so gained the Favour of his Master, that he was preferred to the Deanry of *Westminster*,


ster, afterwards successively to the Bishopricks of *Rochester*, (1608.) *Lichfield*, (1609.) *Lincoln*, (1613.) *Durham*, (1617.) by *K. James*, and of *Winchester* (1628.) and *York* (1631.) by King *Charles*, after he had been again complained of in Parliament: All which Promotions gave him Opportunity to promote the Work, for which he was an apt and active Agent, in all parts of the Nation.

Such another Zealot for the Cause was *Harsnet* Bishop of *Chichester*, who in Parliament time preached such a Sermon at *Whitehall* upon the Text, *Give unto Caesar*, &c. as gave such Offence, that King *James* was constrained to call the Lords and Commons to the Banqueting House, and calm them with Good words; and the Sermon was burnt, but the Bishop was afterwards preferred to *Norwich* by *K. James*, and after that to *York* by *K. Charles*.

The like was done by *Dr. Roger Mainwaring*, Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, in two Sermons before the King and Court at *Whitehall*, and after published, for which he was impeached in Parliament, and charged with a wicked intention to seduce and misguide the Conscience of the King touching the Observation of the Laws, &c. sentenced to be imprisoned, fined a 1000. li. disabled from Preferments, &c. and his Sermon suppressed by Proclamation, declaring the Censure and Sentence just: Yet was he soon after pardoned, preferred to the Rectory of *Stanford Rivers*, void by the promotion of *Mountague* to *Chichester*, and had a Dispensation to hold it with that of *St. Giles's* in the Fields, afterwards to the Deanry of *Worcester*, and finally to the Bishoprick of *St. Davids*, which was highly resented by the Lords, so that the King commanded him not to come to the Parliament, nor send any Proxy.

And this brings me to the Top of all the Faction, who promoted it to its Perfection, or rather Confusion, viz. *Dr. Laud*, against whom then Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, Complaint was made to the Commons, that he had warranted these Sermons to the Press; and *Mainwaring* was no sooner censured, but *Laud's* Cause was called to the Report. But all further Proceedings against him at that time were soon stopped by Dissolution of the Parliament, 26 June, and 1. Jul. had he his *Conge d'eslier* for Bishop of *London*, and soon after other Favours, of which more hereafter.

These Sermons were preach'd in pursuance of certain Instructions drawn up by him at the Command of the King, for promoting an illegal Imposition, under the name of a *Loan*; and being preached at Court, upon such an Occasion, by a Chaplain in Ordinary, he had no doubt some special Instructions, Directions, or Advice in it. In other places the Preachers did their parts according as they were required

required by the said Instructions, amongst whom  Beale was taken notice of, and Sibthorp, Dr. of Divinity, and in Commission of the Peace, advanc'd the Service, (what he could) in a Sermon at Northampton Assizes, to the same effect with *Mainwaring*, viz. to justify the *Lawfulness of the Kings imposing Taxes by his Regal Power, without Consent in Parliament, and that such Impositions bind the Conscience.* This Sermon was sent as a snare to Archbishop Abbot to License at the Kings Command; which he for weighty Reasons refusing, it was referred to *Laud*, by whom, after some Qualifications and Corrections, it was approved; and then with a Dedication to the King, and a stately commendatory License by *Mountain* then Bishop of London, printed and published, and the Author afterwards with *Mainwaring* and others, was pardoned at least, if not preferred and rewarded.

How the rest did their parts, by inculcating this *Doctrine of the Regal Power* in Imposing of Taxes without Consent in Parliament, though directly contrary to one of the most certain and known fundamental points of the *English* Constitution, through the instigation of men of such a Temper and Power as Bishop *Laud*, his old Patron *Neile*, his Tutor *Buckridge*, *Harsnet*, *Mountain*, *Howson*, *Curle*, *Pierce*, and the rest of the *Church-Faction*, may be understood by what was done by the Lords and Favourites of the *Court-Faction*, there being an entire Combination between them, well expressed in the beginning of the Instructions: For the Gentlemen who refused the Loan, were bound by Recognizance to appear at the Council Table, and many appointed to their several Commitments in Forreign Counties, and many committed to the *Fleet*, *Gate-house*, *Marshalsey*, *New Prison*; the common sort ordered some to be enrolled among the Companies of Souldiers, others to be impress'd to serve in the King's Ships.

Such *Impositions* had been attempted by King *James* in his Time, first directly claimed by him as a Right by Letters Patents, 6 *Jac.* and the Illegality of that being shewed, then more indirectly under the Notion of a *Benevolence*, 12 *Jac.* and that also being opposed as against Law, Reason, and Religion, viz. the King's Oath at his Coronation, it is an argument of great *Pertinaciousness in the Faction*, that they dare thus impudently assert this Right again, which the King himself doth in effect disclaim by requiring it not as a *Tax*, nor so much as as a *Benevolence*, but only as a *Loan*; and of a strange *Fascination upon the King*, to be so imposed upon by these Enchantments, as to enforce with so much Violence to his Subjects, and probably not without some to his own Conscience, what he could not plainly assert as his Right, or directly claim as his due.

And such a *Fascination* is no less observable in that Excess of his

Affection to this Faction in opposition to his Parliament, which appears in the Continuance of his special Favour to such of them as the Parliament censured, soon after conferred upon them, and (as in the case of *Mainwaring*) though he himself had publicly declared the sentence just. Certainly this on both sides was Passion, no less than what the Scripture calls *è duppe & me: è as*, or the Rage of an unlawful Lust, as if intoxicated by that abominable Magical Love Potion of the Golden Cup. And if we look a little further into the Story, we shall meet more Evidence of such an Intoxication in the *Inconsistence of the King's Actions*, having the next Year in full Parliament solemnly granted that most just and reasonable *Petition of Rights*, and so confirmed them by a New Act, and yet nevertheless before the next Session, through these Enchantments, violating the same in as gross manner as ever before.

BUT I need not to note more of *such illegal Projects or Practices*, which were various, and persisted in till they came to the usual Determination of such Publick Differences, the Sword and Civil War, by the severe Judgment of God upon the King and the whole Faction: For they are fresh in Memory of many living, and obvious in printed Books; and that they all proceeded upon the same *Principles*, may be understood both by the *Persons* who had then the chief Management of Affairs, and by that *Solemn Declaration of their Principle*, which may be looked upon as the concluding Act of the Faction, which sealed up all, their Canons and Decrees made in their Synod 1640. continued *durante beneplacito*, by a New Commission after the Parliament dissolved.

There was a perfect *Combination* between the two Factions, and both proceeded upon the same *common Principle* in matters of State, which being made matter of Religion, by that means the Church Faction could not but be concerned in all. And though that was not so rampant while *Abbot* was Archbishop, yet was it then strongly promoted by *Neal* and others, at last overpowered him, and when his Successor *Land* got up, carried all both in Church and State, (rid the Beast.) He was a fierce Opposer of all, who differed from him in Ecclesiastical Matters, as Puritans, or in Civil Matters, as Republicans, was Anno 1608. recommended by his Tutor *Buckridge* to the service of *Neal*, and by him afterward to *K. James*, by whom he was gradually raised, at last to the Bishoprick of *St. David's*, Anno 1621. and came to that Power and Authority with *Buckingham*, that he made him his Confessor and Counsellor: and in the beginning of the next Reign, grew as much into the King's Favour, as before he had been in the *Dukes*, becoming as it were his Majesties Secretary for all Church Concernments: was made Bishop

Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, and Dean of the Chappel, 1626. and 1628. after Complaint against him in Parliament, Bishop of *London*, and Privy Councillor, (together with his old Patron *Neal*) and after the Dukes Death he is called to the *Helm* of the State, and steers the Course thereof by his Directions. About the same time was Sir *Th. Wentworth*, afterward E. of *Siraffod*, by the Treasurer *Wesdon* brought over to that Party, made a Privy Councillor, and became the most devout Friend of the Church, the greatest Zealot for advancing the Monarchical Interest; and Land and he coming to a right understanding, entred into a League of inviolable Friendship, and joyning Hearts and Hands together, co-operated from thenceforth for advancing the Honour of the Church and his Majesty's Service. Such another intimate with him, and Friend of the Church, was the Attorney General *Noy*, who projected the Ship Money, whose death he much lamented. And such another Sir *Fr. Windebank*, for whom he obtained the place of Secretary of State. Upon the Death of the E. of *Pembroke*, 1630. he was chosen Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, and upon the death of *Abbot*, 1633. immediately made Archbishop of *Canterbury*. And how the seed sown in the dark in the former Convocation, was cultivated and propagated by such strenuous Labourers, and the Sunshine of Majesty, till it appeared in it's full maturity in the next, may easily be conceived without reciting any more particular Instances.

In this Convocation there were three things, which *Canterbury* was to take special care of, the Regal Power, the Episcopal Power, and Uniformity. 'For the *Regal Power*, they decree that the *Order of Kings* 'is of Divine Right, the Ordinance of God, founded in the prime Laws 'of Nature, and clearly established by exprefs Texts of Scripture: 'That a *Supream Power* is given to this Order by God himself, to command all, and punish with the Temporal Sword all stubborn and wicked doers: That the care of God's Church is committed to Kings in 'Scripture, and her Government belongs in chief to Kings: That the 'Power to call and dissolve Councils is the true Right of all Christian 'Kings: That to avow in any of their Realms, any Independant 'active Power, either Papal or Popular, is to undermine their Regal 'Office: That for Subjects to bear Arms against their King upon any 'pretence whatsoever, is at least to resist the Powers which are ordained of God: That Tribute, Custom, &c. and all manner of support 'and supply is due to Kings from their Subjects by the Law of God, 'Nature, and Nations, &c. And they ordain this to be read by every Parson, &c. every quarter of the Year, under pain of suspension, and that no Ecclesiastical or Academical Person shall maintain or abett any

Posi-

[44]

Position in opposition or Impeachment of any part thereof under pain of Excommunication.

Now if this be true, which they have decreed, then have all *Kings the same Power jure divino*, which cannot be restrain'd by any humane Constitution; then are all those Constitutions of Government, whereby a *limited Power* only is given to the King, though settled by solemn Agreement, and mutual Oaths for Observation and Performance thereof, all void, as to any Limitations, as derogatory to the Law of God, and the King may, and must use his Power, which he hath *jure divino*; and then are all those, who insist upon any Right by any such Laws, which is inconsistent with that Plenitude of Royal Power *jure divino*, factious and seditious, and to be punished with the Temporal Sword as stubborn and wicked doers. But if all Forms of Government when thoroughly settled, have Gods Authority, and the Powers that be (in each) be ordained of God; if *Publick Pacts* and Agreements (by which Governments are usually constituted and ratified) are to be observed inviolably *jura naturalia*; and if *Solemn Oaths* (by which Pacts and Agreements are usually confirmed, and made as Sacred and Inviolable as may be) are to be observed most religiously and *jure divino*, then is their Doctrine false, factious and seditious, and tending to the Subversion or Disturbance of most Kingdoms in this Part of the World, and of our own in particular, and was therefore justly condemned by the next Parliament; then is the Church of England in Convocation, and her Doctrine no less fallible than the Church of Rome; and then was that Faction the great Occasion of our late Civil Wars, by misleading the Consciences of the King and of a great part of the People, of great Abuses by *Declarations and Clauses*, inconsistent with the Constitution of our Government, *obtruded into divers Acts of Parliament*, and of many illegal Arbitrary Acts in the Reigns since; is still the occasion of our Civil Dissentions and Unsettlement, and of much of our Disappointments under the present Government at this day, and will continue so to be till either some good Counsel and Resolution put an end to it, or it produce another Civil War.

For while Princes, and some part of the People shall be perswaded upon pretended Principles of Religion, that the Regal Power is *Jure Divino*, above all Humane Laws; and the rest know that it anciently hath been, and to this day is very different all over the World, in all Kingdoms, according to their several Constitutions, in some more absolute, as the Eastern, and the Roman Emperors; in others very little, as divers of the Northern, and particularly the German from whom the English descended, who acted in Council *Autoritate suadendi magis quam subendi Potestate*, and that by the English Constitution it is limited, and confined to the observance of Law in all parts of it; this must be a perpetual Cause or Occasion of Dissensions, which are apt to break out at last into Wars. But if the Occasions of *this Error* being observed, it be well considered, that the Power of the Jewish Kings, the Roman Emperors, or any other, is no Rule for the measure of our Government, where the greatest Power of all is manifestly not in the King, but remaining in the whole Body of King, Lords and Commons: That Expressions in some Acts of Parliament, Articles of Religion, or Canons, used and intended merely in Opposition to Papal Pretences, ought not captiously to be extended to what was not intended, or in question contrary to manifest Truth: That Expressions in the Homilies out of Zeal against Conspiracies and Rebellions of Papists are of no Authority in Questions or Controversies of State, nor Decrees of Universities, when to serve a Faction, or please those from whom they expect Preference: and That Ambition, Self-interest, and Flattery, the usual Attendants of Princes Courts, are always the promoters of such Pretences: the Faction will soon be detected by all honest men; and then may we hope for a Happy Settlement, which is the Design of this Paper, and the sincere Desire of it's Author.

F I N I S.

